4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
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Barbed arrows are used more commonly than hook and line in fishing. Strömer's vocabulary (1932) includes references to basket traps and weirs. Fish and crocodiles are drugged with poison from twigs and leaves of the timbó.

Food preparation.—Cooking is women's work. Dishes mentioned in the literature include roasted sweet potato, banana mush, manioc broth, cará fruit soup, and a dish consisting of Brazil nuts which have been washed, soaked in water, smoked, crushed, and roasted. Meat is roasted on a babracot of green sticks or on a slanting spit. Strömer's vocabulary includes a word for manioc press and a phrase meaning "roasting house for manioc meal." Mortar and pestle are reported. Beverages are made from wild beans, cacao, and manioc meal mixed with honey and water. The *Mundurucú* had no native alcoholic beverages.

They raise tobacco and smoke it in the form of cigars wrapped in tauari bark.

VILLAGES AND HOUSES

Tocantins and Farabee imply that the dwellings are arranged around the periphery of an open village plaza in the center of which is the men's house. Bates, however, mentions a settlement of 30 houses scattered for a distance of 6 or 7 miles along a river bank; and Martius (Spix and Martius, 1823–31, vol. 3) speaks of houses arranged in rows in a forest clearing.

The men's house (ekça) occupied by the warriors, is a prominent feature of the village. Tocantins describes one 100 m. (325 feet) long, covered with thatch and open on one of its long sides. A photograph of a men's house in Farabee (1917 a) shows a rectangular structure, smaller and more crudely built than the dwelling house, with a gable roof and incompletely enclosed sides. The warriors slung their hammocks from posts inside it during the winter and from a series of posts set in three parallel rows and united by cross beams, in the village plaza, during the summer. Although warfare is no longer an important aspect of *Mundurucú* life, the men's house still serves as a men's work place and as a dwelling for the unmarried men. Women are not permitted to enter it.

The dwelling house (ekça, "big house") photographed by Farabee is a long, rectangular, windowless structure with a high thatched roof and low walls. The men's door is in the center of the long side facing the men's house; the women's door is directly opposite. Strömer describes the house as a long, rectangular building with a roof sloping to the ends and sides, and with rising peaks at each end of the roof crest, but in a later publication (1937) he speaks of the house as "dome-shaped." In the 1850's, Bates found that most of the dwellings had conical roofs and walls of framework filled with mud. The roof was covered with palm thatch, and the eaves extended halfway to the ground. Martius also reported conical roofs.

623 and house leaders and other older men of the village had the greatest influence in these matters for it would have been highly impertinent of the "children" (as anybody under the age of about 35 or 40 was called by the older men) to contest the wisdom of those who were collectively referred to as "the old men."

624 The house leader was simply the oldest man of the house and generally the husband of the oldest female, who occupied the respected position of older sister, mother, and maternal aunt to the other women of the house. He was a man who married into the village, or at least the house, from outside and his position was the result of circumstances rather than selection or heredity. In our discussion of the household organization and economy, it became clear that the house leader did little to direct the activity of the women. His sons-in-law treated him with the respect due an older man and a father-in-law, but, since most of their activity was carried out in the larger unit of the village, he exerted little authority over them.

476 571 The leadership of collective enterprises was generally invested in the person who initiated the activity and not in the chief. If a man wanted to organize a timbó fishing trip, he notified the other men in the village of his desire and a date and place was set. The men then went out to the garden of the man who initiated the party and helped him to pull up the timbó roots. Direction was nominally in his hands and if many people took part, he would carry com-

476 siderable weight in deciding where to distribute the partici-
571 pants along the stream. However, the usual small or medium sized party needed no central authority and the leader of the trip had very little to do except work along with the other men. His main function was to suggest the trip and to provide the timbó.

[224] Hunting was a much more frequent pursuit and no initiative was needed. There was no hunt leader, but the sagacity and prestige of the man who was the best hunter was always recognized.

[796] Even ceremonies were held under the organization and leadership of the man who originated the plan. It was then his duty to send invitations to the other villages and to supervise certain preparations that had to be made in the village such as food accumulation and the collection of ceremonial paraphernalia.

Those men who initiated group activities were usually older men of some prestige. Frequently this would be the chief or a household head, but often it was any older man having good standing in the community. The Wundurucú
157 were modest and retiring in personality. They were extroverts and loved to talk, gossip, and tell bawdy stories, but they were in no way forward or arrogant. However, certain
554 qualities gave prestige to those men possessing them. Among the most important were age, war prowess, learning, especially of the various songs, and hunting ability.

156 Authority was an unimportant concept in Wundurucú life. It was seldom manifested within the political organi-

177 361 314 portion of the Mundurucú, whose increased need of and desire for trade goods could no longer be satisfied by the yield of only three months' work in the rubber avenues, have made this choice.

These families represent the third stage of Mundurucú acculturation. Their [182] resettlement in the rubber regions, however, has occurred in two ways. The first is a direct and complete adaptation to rubber collection, which can be studied in many contemporary inland villages. People desiring to increase their income from barter improve their rubber avenue house to make it more comfortable during the rains, plant gardens, and remain there. Although they maintain re- [571] lationships with the inland villages, the locus of their social lives lie increasingly within the orbit of the communities of scattered families dependent upon the trading posts. The final step in their incorporation into the local Brazilian economy and the culmination of this acculturative process will come when they abandon horticulture to devote full time to work in the rubber avenues, and, like their Brazilian neighbors and the Western Montagnais, depend upon trade for the bulk of their food supply.

The second mode of readaptation to the rubber economy, while ending in the same type of settlement pattern and social organization as the first, involves 177 passage through an intermediate stage. The previously mentioned mission on the 797 Cururu River had indifferent success in attracting the Mundurucú until the 1920s, when a policy of trading with the Indians was adopted. The missionaries were honest and generous in their commercial relations, and rubber-tapping became more profitable to the Indians. Their intensified collecting activities resulted in a general movement to the banks of the Cururú River, and by the 1930s many interior villages had been abandoned.

177 The migrants settled so heavily on the river banks that they were able to 621 nucleate in new villages. These villages, however, lacked the men's organiza- 544 tion, division of labor, and collective patterns which structured the old type villages. Although the population shift from the old to new villages was heavy, it involved individual families rather than whole villages. The new villages grew as additional nuclear families arrived from the savannah communities. During this period of growth, since the new villages consisted of families, many of which had not previously been connected with one another, each family had to carry on the subsistence activities which were formerly the function of the extended family and village. Gardens were cleard and planted by husband and wife with whatever aid their children were capable of giving. Fish, taken by family members from the nearby rivers, rapidly replaced game formerly taken in collective hunts as the major source of protein. Meanwhile, increased rubber production enabled the Indians to buy the hooks, lins, and canoes with which fishing was made more effective. As the new villages rew larger, the atomistic division of labor was perpetuated, and the nuclear family became the basic unit of production.

621 Political authority on the Cururú River was almost nonexistent. The migrants 178 began to trade as individuals, first with the missionaries and later with the newly established Indian Post. This economic trend stripped the "chiefs" of one of their last remaining functions, and their rôle was reduced to that of intermediary between the villagers and the priests or Indian agent.

The amorphously structured villages which arose on the banks of the Cururú River represent a transition to the family level and are not the culmination of adaptation to the ecology of rubber collection. Most of the residents of the [221] Cururú River still have to reside away from their villages during the rubber season, but the easy communication made possible by canoe transportation allows the majority to return to rubber production after planting their gardens.

The new individualism and fragmented division of labor, combined with facets of the old culture which had become dysfunctional in the new situation, contributed

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
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phenomenon is not at all unusual in South America; Wagley and Galvão report the Tenetehara belief in the demon, Zurupari, to have been borrowed by the Indians from the local Brazilian population.[1] Similarly, the Tupinambá culture hero, Tupan, became a mythological figure in many Brazilian tribes through the active agency of the Jesuits.

Another instance of this type of diffusion and syncretism may exist in the Mundurucú belief that the *Furupari* take the souls of their victims in order to recruit their own ranks. This may well be an aboriginal idea, but it corresponds suspiciously to the classical missionary teaching that the souls of sinners are taken by the *Furupari*, or Devil.[2] The absence of any concept of sin in the Mundurucú belief is not surprising, for missionaries have labored for generations without noticeable results, to inculcate the idea of sin and punishment among them.

The *Furupari* attack all people regardless of age or sex, but a class of spirits known as *aĭk* is dangerous only to infants. There are hordes of *aĭk* wandering over the earth, for the shadows of all people turn into this spirit upon death. Only the transformed shadows of little girls are dangerous to infants, however. The Mundurucú believe that these *aĭk*, like all little girls, want to take the children for themselves, and they rob the child of its life to do so.

Like the *Furupari*, the *aĭk* kills its victims by throwing a magical stone into them. The *aĭk* is clearly visible to the shaman as a little person no more than a foot high; its skin is either black or white, and it is always very beautiful. To ordinary people unendowed with shamanistic powers, the *aĭk* is visible only as a fleeting shadow. It is not at all remarkable, therefore, that anxious Mundurucú mothers often see *aĭk* on the paths between the villages and the bathing places. These paths are considered to be especially dangerous, but the *aĭk* also attacks in the village on days when most of the people are abroad, and only one or two women or girls remain in the village to tend the infants.

As a rule, the Mundurucú believe that safety from all supernaturals can be gained by numbers; the various malevolent beings are always especially dangerous outside the village and to the lone person. This idea functions to provide supernatural support for sociability and coöperation, and few Mundurucú hunt, fish, or garden alone, nor does any woman willingly go to bathe or draw water by herself. To be sure, there are other, more concrete and persuasive reasons for Mundurucú gregariousness, but supernatural concepts rationalize and support this aspect of the social structure.

The shaman must be called to cure an attack by the *aĭk*, but there are also means by which such attacks can be prevented. Children are made immune by frequent baths in a solution of water and the crushed leaves of an unidentified shrub, and a piece of ginger root is almost always hung on the child's *tipoia*, or carrying sling, as protection against the *aĭk*. Also, mothers bite off and spit out pieces of the ginger root as they walk along the paths between the villages and the bathing places in the belief that this will avert molestation by the spirit.

[1] Wagley and Galvão, 1949, p. 102.

[2] It is equally possible that this represents a modification of an aboriginal concept of the Yurupari. Métraux (1928, p. 56) notes the antiquity of this belief among Tupian groups, and the Mundurucú might well have shared this element.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
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Dajearuparip ceremonies. Since bathing in the stream was considered particularly dangerous to them, the members had to bathe in the village from gourds. Also, their obligation to sing the songs of the tapir allowed the *Biuší* little sleep during ceremonies. 796 224

When night fell, all fires of the village were extinguished and the *Biuší*, their captives, and the men fortunate enough to have escaped them reëntered the village in total darkness. The women shut themselves in their houses and did not dare look at the procession lest their next children be born with the fleshy hump found between the shoulders of the tapir, that is, hunchbacked. The procession ended in one of the houses, where the *Biuší* partook of a sweet manioc drink; after they were thus refreshed the women could look upon them with impunity.

A number of creatures were imitated on the final night of the ceremony, and songs appropriate to each species were sung. Among the performances was that for the land tortoise, in which the men imitated the animal and acted in this role as the pets of the women. All lined up in close order and pretended to accept chewed food from the mouths of their owners. The Mundurucú recall with glee that on one such ceremonial occasion a local Brazilian trader, who had been visiting the village, participated in the land tortoise imitation and actually ate the proffered food. In other sequences the grasshopper was emulated by squatting with stomach close to the ground and chirping, and the cry and hopping movements of the toucan were also enacted.

The animal performances lasted throughout the night, and dawn saw the conclusion of the ceremony and the departure of the guests.

The Curing Ceremony

The above performances of the Mundurucú ceremonial cycle are now defunct, and there is little likelihood that they will be revived. But some ritual activity is still extant. It will be noted that the following ceremonies, though quite important to Mundurucú society, involve little social participation beyond the confines of one or two villages. None calls for the large reunions characteristic of the ceremonies devoted to the animal spirits or to the trophy head. 796 755 [571]

The curing ceremony, referred to as *Piunbökmökupunyen*, does not call for broad participation, although all the people of the village in which it is held usually attend as bystanders. Four shamans and two men with special knowledge of songs are needed, however, and must frequently be summoned from a distance. The curing ceremony is held only in cases of robbery of the soul by the animal spirits, a belief which has already been described. Soul loss is commonly held responsible for illnesses in which general, progressive debility is noted without the specific symptoms usually indicative of bewitchment. Given this diagnosis, the shaman attempts to identify the violation for which the animal spirits have taken vengeance and then prescribes a curing ceremony. At least four shamans are necessary to effect a cure and two men are called in to sing the required songs. The latter are persons who, as was described in a previous chapter,[6] received

[6] See page 27.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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but the Mundurucú themselves, openly, consciously, and with no little amusement say also that they discipline their women with the penis.

The punishment of a woman for spying on the karökö is no doubt a rarity, but the penalty is occasionally meted for offenses of a related nature. Adultery is fairly common among the Mundurucú, but it usually is instigated by the male. Because of the inequality implicit in their roles, a lone woman generally finds it difficult to resist the determined advances of a man; her chief protection is the constant company of other women. But if the woman frequently and deliberately leaves the village alone, she is considered to be desirous of sexual relations and therefore fair game—this is a generally correct conclusion on the part of the men. Such a female is tolerated, indeed welcomed, by the men, but if her promiscuity becomes flagrant and if she takes the initiative in liaisons, she becomes a threat to the men. In effect, she usurps the male role. At this point, the men await an opportunity and then gang-rape her. Any woman who departs from her ascribed social role, or who even forsakes the protection of the men responsible for her well-being, may also be so punished. Adolescent girls who run away from the school conducted by the Cururú Mission, for example, are frequently apprehended in their flight and raped. All men join in on these occasions, without recognition of clan or moiety affiliations to their victim. One case was related in which a true parallel cousin took part in the rape of a girl who had fled the mission. At the conclusion of the act, he brought her back to the priests with appropriate and sanctimonious comments on the problem of wayward girls.

The sexes, among the Mundurucú, constitute self-conscious social groups. Mundurucú generally relax in the company of members of their own sex and sit apart at

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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562 578 571 [184] mixed social gatherings. The females resent the male position, and the modern savannah woman commonly objects to the fact that the sexual division of labor is maintained here, unlike among the Cururú River Mundurucú where men join their wives even in such prosaic tasks as farinha making. When the men laughingly recount a gang-rape, or some similar event, the women become markedly nervous and draw closer together. Hostility manifests itself in inconsequential happenings also. When the interpreter introduced the Mundurucú to the mystery of the slingshot, the men immediately peppered the women with palm seeds.

182 534 778 562 The trumpets have lost most of their relations to clans but remain functional in protecting the village from supernatural harm and in the maintenance of traditional sexual roles. They also symbolize the unity of the men as a solidary body. That the women also cohere under threat of the men is clear from the account given above. But such unification and cohesion of females is usually temporary, for the social structure places the woman in a different context of interpersonal relations from that of the men.

THE WOMEN AND THE FAMILY

562 Whereas the center of male activity is the men's house, that of the females of the village is the dwelling and the open walled hut in which farinha is made by all village women. The internal physical arrangement of the dwelling 342 house reflects its organization. It is uncompartmented, and the roof is suspended from a ridge pole supported by two vertical posts. Horizontal poles are trussed against these verticals and across to the front and back walls, and the women and children hang their hammocks between these beams and the end walls of the house. The house is thus divided into three unwalled sections; each end contains

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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and participates most intensively in the labor is illustrated by the example of two visitors in the village of Cabruá. Two elderly Mundurucú, one from the Tropas River and the other from the Cururú, arrived in the village to visit kinsmen. Both were excellent informants, and they stayed at our request longer than they had planned. They required a few trade articles that we were unable to supply and, accordingly, arranged to sell farinha to a trader. Neither had a garden in the village, and they harvested from those of relatives. Although each of the two men helped his wife in the process, other women of the village gave aid. Their coöperation was not as great as it would have been if these had been regular residents of the village, but it was still significant and given ungrudgingly. And although the wives of the two men worked with the other women throughout their stay in the village, none of the households could expect reciprocal labor from the two couples equal to that which had been extended. The people of Cabruá had simply followed the Mundurucú principle that coöperation should be given in any task in which joint effort is possible. [183]

Mutual interdependence in manioc processing is a strong integrating factor among the women. But the farinha shed offers other gratifications than the purely economic. The women talk and joke as they work there, and those not immediately engaged in the labor sit about and join the conversation. Clusters of women often congregate in the farinha shed for purely social purposes when no farinha is being manufactured. As a forum and a point of social interaction, the farinha shed serves somewhat the same function for the females as the men's house for the males.

Harmony, so obvious among the men, is not as complete among the women, however. The household unit of fe-

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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571 578 592 males is extremely close knit and is probably the most cohesive group in Mundurucú society. Such is the emotional bond between the women of these groups that I know of [762] one who committed suicide because of alienation from her two sisters and house mates. But beyond the extended family, conflicts between individual women or households are common. All women of the household generally join with a member in her antipathy for another woman or household; this, of course, follows from the fact that the housemates are closely related to each other, which complements the allegiance arising from co-residence.

521 578 Hostility between the women generally takes the form of malicious gossip. My wife, Yolanda, was the recipient of most of the confidences that passed among the women, [123] which constituted one of our most valuable sources of information. Coleta, an Indian girl who lived in our house [115] and worked for us, used to regale Yolanda by the hour with tales of adultery and of the promiscuity of certain women. Coleta was an excellent source of such data, as she herself was well known for waywardness in affairs of the heart. And we usually managed to learn by this means of the well-repressed hostilities in the village, of fears and accusations of sorcery, and in general of relations between the sexes. Yolanda's participation in the gossip network brought her even closer to the women, and they, in turn, gossiped about her. One of the favored places for the exchange of female information and opinion was the shed where farinha was made. The women usually chatted animatedly as they worked there, but as soon as one left the group, the heads of the others drew together and she was thoroughly discussed; after a couple of months of residence in the village, the same thing happened, as we had no difficulty finding out, when Yolanda left their midst. Gossip is the chief form of expression of antagonism among

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602 628 619 trilineal clansmen through a matrilocal residence rule resulted in cross-cutting bonds of descent and residence that constituted the very web of intervillage relations. For example, a man who married a woman of another village and took up residence in the men's house there, has most complex allegiances. He observes a tie to his affinal relatives, and he is a member of a men's organization that includes fellow moiety members and perhaps some of his clan and phratry. But beyond the village, the man is linked to his parents and extended family, as well as to the men of his native community. Since his brothers might have become similarly scattered in marriage, his bonds extend also to their villages. Finally, he has ties with all his scattered clansmen. In short, the lack of localized patrilineages prevents the compartmental segmentation of the society along conjunctive lines of kinship and territory.

571 575 619 Integration was furthered also by such groups as the *Muchacha anyen* society, the men's ceremonial group known as the *Biu ši anyen* (Mothers of the Tapir), and the *Darek ši anyen* (Mothers of the Arrow), an organization to which all Mundurucú warriors belonged.

121 The thesis that contradictory modes of descent and residence are conducive to multicommunity, or tribal, integration is not new; Fred Eggan reached the same conclusion when weighing evidence that a similar organization existed among the Gros Ventre Indians.[1] And as early as 1917, A. L. Kroeber stated, with reference to the Zuni, the more general principle that the presence in a society of a number of social groups with overlapping membership results in "segmentations which produce an almost marvelous complexity, but can never break the national entity apart."[2] From the viewpoints of logic and empirical data,

[1] Eggan, 1937, p. 34.
[2] Kroeber, 1917, p. 183.

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this is a valid statement. But it conveys the impression that such integration is sufficient to social cohesion; actually interpenetrating modes of segmentation may make social adjustment a most delicate matter. 12/

When considering the relation between structural integration and social solidarity, it may be well to keep in mind that life in society requires a degree of personal renunciation as a means of securing the corporate well-being. Conflicts in interest, between individuals or groups, are bound to follow in all human societies. The causes and intensity of conflict and the means by which it is resolved are, however, variables of the structure of the particular society. The open expression of hostility, we learn from the sociologist Georg Simmel,[3] may result in a readjustment of relations between groups that produces a measure of stability; the playing out of conflicts can thus promote the integration of a society through the correction of disbalances in power and by the cathartic release of aggression.[4] According to Meyer Fortes, battles between lineal groups in Tallensi society has just this effect.[5] But the Tallensi are significantly different from the Mundurucú. Both are patrilineal, but the former society has local groups based on patrilocal residence; conflict between kin groups is simultaneously conflict between local groups.

Conflict in Mundurucú society, on the other hand, cannot range along such simple segmental lines. The memberships of lineal groups and local groups do not coincide; in a conflict, people cannot align themselves with clan fellows, for this may well pit them against the members of 578 571 628

[3] Simmel, 1955.

[4] The latter corollary to Simmel's thesis has been more fully developed by Lewis Coser (1956).

[5] Fortes, 1945, pp. 240-244. See also Gluckman (1956) for a penetrating analysis of segmentary opposition and the part played by cross-cutting loyalties in the dampening of feud.

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571 578 629 the same men's house, or even the same household. Correspondingly, if a man is to side with his co-residents, he may find himself arrayed against his patrilineal kinsmen in another household or village. Mundurucú men have two primary sets of bonds, one based on co-residence and the other on patrilineal kinship. Since the persons affected in each set are generally not the same, the individual is placed in potential role conflict, if sides are to be chosen. To choose the tie of kinship may disrupt the village and household and their economies; to give primary loyalty to one's co-residents can destroy clanship.

There can be no balance of antagonisms in Mundurucú society; conflict can only destroy both social solidarity and social integration. Hostility is, for this reason, suppressed. Intervillage conflicts are unheard of, as are those between kin groups. And interpersonal grievances remain latent between individuals not only because of the disruptive effect of an open breach, but because the antagonists cannot expect uniform support from either kinsmen or co-residents. Covert factionalism may be rife among the Mundurucú, but open feud is impossible within their social system.

578 There are few means to express the aggression arising from the frustrations of normal social life. Real grievances, such as those arising from sexual rivalries or from the institution of chieftainship, do not result in direct retaliation against the objects of hostility. Aggression is instead buried and later displaced on surrogates. During the nineteenth century, the Mundurucú were able to use warfare as a displacement device and as a rallying point for social cohesion. The only acceptable means of purging latent hostility today is the projection of generalized antagonisms to the shamans and their execution as sorcerers.

[613] Although matrilocality is no longer as rigidly adhered

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to as in the past, the conflicting modes of segmentation noted above still largely apply. And, correspondingly, aggression is repressed and the highest degree of harmony and coöperation is enjoined on the members of the society. The even and calm tonality of interpersonal relationships is most evident in the village, but it extends also to all men of the tribe. The men are unaggressive and uncompetitive; it is difficult to elicit relative prestige rankings from Mundurucú informants and practically impossible to learn of the overt hostilities that occasionally occur. The observer receives the initial impression of enormous cohesion, but prolonged residence in any community reveals severe grievances and smoldering factionalism. Despite these tendencies, the savannah Mundurucú do not fight among themselves, and they maintain the external appearance of solidarity and coöperation. But the society is extremely vulnerable to factionalism and hostility; social cohesion is precarious, and disaffection is an important motive for emigration from the savannah villages.

Today, this communality is primarily operative on the level of village organization; coöperative endeavors among several communities are largely defunct. Warfare and the ceremonial cycle have lapsed, and intervillage relations are structured by personal ties of kinship and not by the interdependency of villages as groups. Tribalism has further decayed as a consequence of the migration to the shores of the Cururú River and the alienation of the latter residents. But clan, language, and much of the traditional culture remain to maintain the boundaries between "people" and "foreigners."

SOCIAL ASPECTS OF RELIGION

Certain features of Mundurucú religious belief and activity are of particular relevance to the economy and social

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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241 ply vegetables that are not available in the village. Despite these apparent benefits, the complete harvest is sometimes not brought in, and part of the produce either rots or is eaten by animals while the owners are in residence in the village during the rains.

462 The division of labor during the dry season is the result of the size of the co-resident group. If the unit is small, the men and boys often help the women in the manufacture of farinha, but if there are sufficient females to help in the task, the men do not join them. Correspondingly, a man is sometimes aided in rubber collecting by his wife or younger sons. Fishing and hunting, also, is generally done jointly by only two or three men. Larger-scale timbó-fishing expeditions are infrequent because the people are so widely dispersed. The work of rubber collecting is, 314 except for the occasional help of a wife or son, essentially individual. Even where a number of rubber tappers and [592] their families share the same residence, each man has his own avenue and unites with the others only when the day's work is done.

314 571 476 Rubber extraction fractionates villages and households during approximately one-quarter of the year, and the changed mode of residence and patterns of coöperation [594] result in a greatly increased importance of the nuclear family. One Mundurucú owned a canoe on the Tropas River and another on the Cabitutú; the only other mode [487] of transportation and communication is by trails that parallel the rivers. But the distances between houses make visiting infrequent during the rubber season, and the residence groups pass most of the period in isolation.

423 The breakdown of larger social units is paralleled in the economic realm by the individuality of rubber production and private holding of rubber avenues. The latter are private property in a limited sense only. What is "owned" is

12; Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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of course, but that could be obtained in trade with the mission if one worked hard.

The villages grew by increments and with no special order. The original houses were of the sort that the Mundurucú usually erected in their rubber avenues. These had a square floor plan, and, when graced with walls, usually were made of straw or wattle and daub in the manner characteristic of those of the Brazilian rubber collectors. Later additions to the village followed this design and furthered the already drastic alteration of the traditional Mundurucú settlement by being built in any convenient space in the village clearing, with no reference to an over-all village plan. Today, the usual Mundurucú village on the Cururú consists of from three to eleven square wattle-and-daub houses having no special arrangement except that all face toward the river.

The circumstances of the migration induced other changes in village organization. Since the first permanent settlers on the Cururú came in small groups of one to three nuclear families, it was no longer possible to carry out the old cooperative economic organization; this is essentially the same problem faced by the contemporary campineiros during the rubber season. There were not enough men in any one place to carry on the almost daily collective hunts, but the proximity of the river and the stable food supply it offered compensated for this. Timbó-fishing trips still required a concentration of forces, but, since they occurred only periodically during the dry season, the gatherings could be arranged by sending invitations abroad. Everyday bow-and-arrow fishing required only two men, one to handle the canoe and the other to shoot the fish. If fishing was done from the banks, one man was adequate to the task. Thus, the new economic circumstances of their lives combined with the nature of the migration itself to decrease the dependency of the individual on large groups.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

159 578 754 756 a leader in the movement for execution. Although many of these bonds were probably not permanently fractured by the dispute, they were all certainly placed under strain. The fact that first-degree kinsmen, not to mention clan fellows, can become embroiled in internecine strife that can result in the withdrawal of one of the parties is indicative of the progressive weakening of kin bonds. The ethic of harmony and nonviolence that was associated with the traditional institutions of descent and residence continues to some extent on the Cururú River, but it does not prevent social disruption.

184 •571 [592] Another noteworthy contrast between Missão Velha and the savannah villages is the lower level of social interaction in the former. It has been pointed out that the household, most often a nuclear family, is the basic economic unit of the Cururú River Mundurucú. The same applies to everyday social intercourse, for not only are the men's house and the all-village collective female labor of the savannah farinha shed absent, but visiting between houses is also less frequent. After the day's labors, the husband, wife, and children usually sit around their own fire to eat and talk, and afterward retire to their hammocks. Occasionally a [579] neighbor and his family will visit briefly. Visiting is almost always done in groups with two or three families coming together at one time. The all-male or all-female gatherings of the savannahs which have for their respective nuclei the men's house and the farinha shed are absent.

DISINTEGRATION OF THE CURURÚ VILLAGES

182 579 The conflict over sorcery in Missão Velha is typical of the schisms constantly arising in the Cururú villages and which account, in part, for the fact that the average village population is on the decline with a corresponding increase in the number of villages. In addition, many people are